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The German Holiday Route - from the Alps to the Baltic

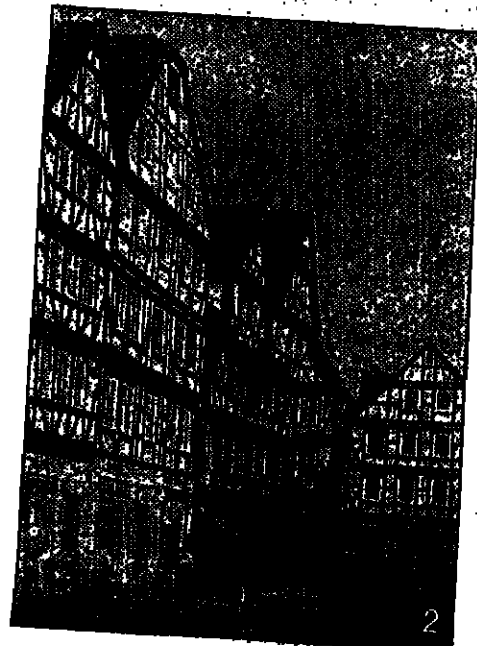


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Kohl intent on occupying 'the middle ground'

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Words often lose their meaning in politics, politics being what it is. Sometimes phrases emerge which have to be taken at nearer to face

the expression, "political middle ground", was used by Chancellor Kohl in an election slogan. It was used to stave off the accusation that Kohl/Genscher government is a

kind of right wingers. "Political middle ground" has virtually become part of Chancellor Kohl's political programme. It is intended to make it clear where the coalition stands in the political spectrum. It represents a denial that the government will take an extreme line, particularly in foreign policy, where it wants to proceed carefully.

This is important because of the nature of decisions still to be made in the area of security. Controversies have not just because the election is over.

It prevents any tension Bonn will have most care in Ostpolitik and Westpolitik.

This is not only because of the continued promises by the government but also to counter accusations that it will increase political tension to emerge in Central Europe.

Bonn's new government will have to make it clear that it is open to further cooperation with the GDR and with the Eastern countries in general.

Bonn may well come across similar tests for such cooperation, with the GDR is also worried about positions which might hamper cooperation with the Federal Republic, particularly in the economic field. It will be interested in reaching speedier agreement with its neighbour so that "last the winter" in case new tensions were to emerge.

The Bonn government will have to make this out soon. The time left for preliminary measures in East-West relations is short: the question of stationing missiles will be coming to a head in autumn.

There is now no doubt that both in terms of home policy and foreign policy, the Kohl government would prefer the missiles not to be stationed.

After the Nato double-decision over missiles and negotiation does not look promising, the Kohl government is also seeking a compromise solution.

This week, Italy's Foreign Minister, Amintore Colombo, put forward in Washington the European desire for such a compromise.

He emphasised that he was speaking on behalf of all those countries planning

to station the missiles, i.e. Britain, Italy, and the Federal Republic of Germany.

However, it is precisely this compromise will cause trouble for the German government.

For many, such a compromise solution will mean negotiations leading to a certain reduction of the Soviet missile potential threatening Europe and a postponement, if not stop to armament in the West.

However, the compromise solution regarded as reasonable by the Nato is one in which although the Soviet weapon systems are reduced number of medium-range weapons planned for Europe will be reduced in number but eventually deployed.

At present there are no signs that the Soviet Union would be willing to accept such a compromise.

It is only then willing to reduce its medium-range missile potential if the West agree to completely renounce further armament.

This could be classified as a Soviet-style "zero option".

Recently, it has also become apparent that the Soviet Union is considering including a whole series of other security arrangements as conditions for their willingness to cut down its arms build-up.

This would increase the number of topics under discussion in negotiations and even raise the time factor involved, possibly a fact of which the Soviet Union is aware.

For although Moscow may have realised that it has not been able to directly influence the opinion of German voters by intervening in the election campaign, it may now wish to wait and see if the western governments in fact have the nerve to continue armament.

If this is the case things are pre-planned to politically come to a head between the East and the West in autumn.

This is beyond doubt a dangerous negotiating concept.

The Soviets would therefore not regard the renunciation of the "zero option" by the West as an opportunity to seek realistic negotiation solutions but take advantage of the situation to increase pressure.

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Getting down to details

Gaston Thorn, President of the EEC Commission, welcomed to Bonn by Chancellor Kohl. The meeting was to lay groundwork for the meeting this month in Brussels of the European Council. (Photo: dpa)

This could lead to compulsive reactions on both sides.

Under such circumstances, the ability of the German government to influence the course of events could be extremely limited.

At present, it would not be advisable for the Federal Republic to try and emphasise the extent of its influence on the negotiations between the two superpowers, for this may lead to it being put under pressure.

For this reason, Bonn will want to leave most of the responsibility up to the superpowers.

It will not be easy to maintain this course since the debate on the missile question will definitely continue at home and the government will be required to provide answers.

This course can only be taken if it is convincingly linked to confidence in American negotiating activities in Geneva.

This represents a new responsibility for the government in Washington.

It would be dangerous to sit back now that an apparently pro-American government has been elected in Bonn.

Washington must show that Bonn's confidence is justified by clearly demonstrating that if negotiations should fail, it has done its utmost to guarantee increase pressure.

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Soviet Union takes a harder line

Moscow says it will be forced to move medium-range missiles closer to the United States if cruise missiles are deployed in central Europe.

The Kremlin realises that President Reagan's position has been strengthened by the conservative election win in the Federal of Germany. And it intends taking a harder line.

This sounds threatening. Are party leader Yuri Andropov and his military advisors toying with the idea of a new Cuba crisis?

This is hardly imaginable, but they are clearly flexing their muscles. The campaign against the USA can be expected to escalate.

The Soviets are hoping to gain concessions from those who are most frightened.

Proposals to include the Baltic Sea in a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe, as put forward by Soviet disarmament expert General Nikola Gjerlov on Swedish TV, must be seen within this context.

He referred to the possibility of withdrawing the six Soviet nuclear submarines which are claimed to be stationed in this area.

And yet it is an open secret that the submarines can be easily tracked down by Western defence systems in these relatively shallow waters.

This means that in an emergency they would have to withdraw fast, anyway, to avoid being destroyed.

The latest words of praise for the Greens in the Federal Republic reveal that the Kremlin still hopes, with the help of the peace movements in West-

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WORLD AFFAIRS

Kohl victory greeted by
Nato and the Alliance

The sighs of relief in Washington and London over Helmut Kohl's election victory are much greater than diplomatic discretion allows.

Even the socialists in France approve, although not quite as strongly as the British or the Americans.

But NATO's secretary general, Josef Luns, did not mince words. His reaction was one of "joy and satisfaction."

Yet despite this, the questions of the Atlantic Alliance in general and the missiles in particular played a minor role in the election.

The SPD's national business manager, Peter Glotz, explained the conservative success by saying that the voters had been most impressed by the *Aufschwung* (Upswing) slogan they had used.

All other issues were secondary to this economic message, despite the efforts of the shadow chancellor, Hans-Jochen Vogel, to get the Americans to get things moving at the missile talks in Geneva.

Kohl is particularly proud of the fact that he has already during his brief period in office been successfully able to close the ranks of the Alliance.

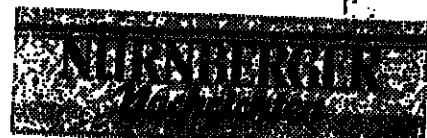
Has Kohl's election saved the Alliance? Even the Chancellor himself in his hours of contemplation will not agree that things are quite that simple.

In the field of Bonn's security policy Kohl has had to take on some explosive legacies from his Social Democrat predecessors, which are in no way "home-made."

This does not only apply to the missile question. US Defence Secretary, Caspar Weinberger, is now more than ever likely to step up his demands on Western Europe to keep pace with American defence spending levels.

He would like to see Western Europe relieve the US military forces of some of its obligations in Europe so that America can better fulfil its more global tasks, tasks set by the Reagan Administration.

However, since all German governments, regardless of their party-political colourings, are limited in their means, the Kohl team will find it by no means



Chancellor Kohl... the dominant figure.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

easier to push through a defence budget catering for all of Washington's desires.

Even with a Christian Democrat Chancellor, the Defence departments will find it extremely difficult to pay off the large number of modern yet very expensive weapon systems ordered by ex-Defence Minister Georg Leber.

Above-average defence spending, on the other hand, would mean that a great deal of the money needed for the proclaimed *Aufschwung*, which is to be encouraged by tax reliefs for investors, for example, will then flow into the less productive business of storing weapons.

Although not too keen on turning into an energetic protector of German interests within the Alliance, Kohl must bear in mind his own interests if his growth objectives are threatened.

This has already been made clear by the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition in Bonn during its period in office up to now.

It was resolute in its opposition to the American request that Germany should help finance the withdrawal of American GI garrisons from the problematic West German conurbations and their transfer to the Eastern border areas.

There's one thing we now know for sure: the most important aspect of the German election was not the vote for the new government.

We voted for "security," said *Quotidien de Paris*; to "strengthen" the Alliance, said NATO Secretary-General Luns; and "cleared the runway for the missiles" said the *Daily Mail*, London.

What is more, we didn't vote against Hans-Jochen Vogel and the SPD but against the head of the Kremlin, Yuri Andropov, said *La Suisse*, Geneva.

In the eyes of President Mitterrand the election on the Rhine was more important than his own municipal election.

The head of the Italian Christian Democrat party, De Mita, claimed Kohl's triumph to be a "victory for the whole of Western democracy."

Of course, some feel differently. In the opinion of Poland's *Trybuna Ludu* the German voter is quite simply "disoriented and numbed." The French communist daily, *L'Humanité*, has a clear idea of the real victor in Bonn: "The champions of reactionary thinking and those who have dulled the minds of the masses."

There are plenty of half-baked and polemic statements in the foreign press, some of them continuing the involvement in German affairs shown before the election: a mixture of friend and rival.

Yet only a few commentaries are as to-the-point as that by the *Washington Post* which feels that the Germans have cast their votes for the Atlantic Alliance and not for American policies.

There's a big difference here. This American newspaper is quite right, however, even if many an election

Finally, the conservative German-American honeymooning will not be encouraged if now that the German election is over the Geneva missile talks yet again become the centre of attention.

If the premise claimed again and again by the Alliance that the Soviets will only be willing to compromise if the West shows its determination to station all 572 new medium-range missiles holds true, the election result in Bonn should contribute towards greater mobility in Geneva.

The question is, however, whether President Reagan feels tempted to stick to a tough line, even if a further offer is made by Moscow.

This would certainly be in the interests of Franz Josef Strauss who is on his way to Bonn.

He has never been one for beating about the bush and openly states that he would have preferred the NATO double-resolution adopted in December 1979 to have done without a negotiating party station the missiles and that's that!

However, Kohl has shown that this all-or-nothing approach is not part of his style.

Yet now that Kohl has received the electoral mandate he will sooner or later have to face up to the fact that he also has the job of a German "go-getter" during his visits to Washington.

At least some kind of interim result to negotiations in Geneva, with armament kept at a lower level, and brought about with Kohl's help, may help improve his image at home.

For even Helmut Kohl will at some stage show first signs of strain.

Felix Hartlieb

(Nürnberg Nachrichten, 8 March 1983)

How foreigners
viewed
the election

campaigner has tried his best to blur the issue.

After all, the distorted image of Germany as reflected in the foreign press commentaries must have its reasons.

West Germany, the unreliable cornerstone of the Western Alliance, the spectre of neutralism, the Christian Democrats as procurers of missiles and cold war heroes.

Such attributes are not only voiced in Washington's Defence Department or Moscow's Kremlin.

There is no doubt about the fact that the German image abroad is determined by our attitude towards missiles and the Alliance.

Most foreign newspapers tend to ignore the other burning issues of the day in Germany: mass unemployment, recession, questions relating to environmental protection.

Instead, at least this is how the Spanish newspaper ABC views it: "Europe's healthy common-sense (personified by Germany) has gained a victory over neutralist tendencies and desires for expropriation."

It would be too easy just to dismiss such statements and generalisations put forward by our neighbours with a mere "why-should-that-bother-me" shrug of the shoulders.

For they too are an expression of hopes and expectations, positive or negative, directly affecting our policies.

Tass: more
than bite

The Soviet news agency, Tass, warned Chancellor Kohl following American missiles to be stationed in the Federal Republic.

The day after Chancellor Kohl's general election victory, Tass proposed installation of the would turn Germans of the public into hostages of the Defence Department.

Certainly, the Tass has sounded dangerous. So is switching to a cold-war attitude. Bonn? No.

Soviet politicians are realists. They have always come to some agreement with the unalterable.

The past few weeks have been clear that Kohl isn't exactly the cello Moscow would have liked.

However, they know who stands with Kohl and that's important, too.

The Federal Republic is the Union's most important western partner. This fact has an important political.

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko only recently said he had Germany under a conservative government would also show interest in a relationship.

This would indicate the line which the Kremlin will follow. One reason for Moscow's hesitancy is anger at having misjudged the situation. But there is no cause for concern.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung, 13 March 1983)

HOME AFFAIRS

Election throws up basic
power structure changes

The Federal Republic of Germany has entered a new phase because of election. This is not because the government was returned, but because of the victory, the routing of the CDU and the entry to the Bundestag of uncompromising Greens.

lasting power structure seems to have emerged out of a situation of crisis and transition.

rising Deutschmark exchange rates, bullish stock market and the congratulatory messages from Western capitals, all evidence to the CDU slogan that a country is getting back on an even keel — at least in the classical areas of politics.

A breakdown of the election results in the story: apart from the two cities (Bremen and Hamburg) the conservatives outperformed the SPD in all regions, and that includes the Social Democratic bastion of North Rhine-Westphalia.

In Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg, Social Democrats have become virtual outsiders.

The conservatives made deep inroads into the Social Democratic voter, particularly when many blue-collar workers, headed by semi-skilled and unskilled labour, changed sides in their

election outcome has nothing to do with a sudden change but is the result of a long development that would have brought about the change in 1980 if it had not been Franz Josef Strauss who stood for the chancellorship — a man with many enemies even in the conservative camp.

The SPD has been weakened over a period of many years and its vigour as a governing party has been sapped.

In the final phase of Helmut Kohl's chancellorship, the SPD had slipped in favour with the electorate to below 30 per cent. But this fact was overlooked when the party closed ranks behind Vogel.

The emotion that rallied SPD supporters after last autumn's change of government in Bonn was not sustained through the final phases of the campaign. In any event, the electorate re-elected the SPD as a national party to its position of 1965.

What's more, in the state assemblies the SPD's rise after the war, the party is weaker than ever before.

The conservatives now reign supreme in the municipalities and the Bundestag. They provide the nation's president and the speaker of the Bundestag.

Even though the Free Democrats are in the cabinet — more or less as an appendage — Germany has become a government of the CDU/CSU in terms of power and parliamentary majorities.

And Helmut Kohl, "Adenauer's son," has become the dominant figure: a Chancellor with a clear mandate.

Kohl prevailed over Strauss (who was determined to hold elections immediately after the October change of govern-

ment with the intention of eliminating the FDP), bringing about the March election even against reservations by the Free Democrats.

He accepted the responsibility of facing the voters with an unpopular emergency programme; he even weathered the constitutional dispute over the dissolution of the Bundestag, coming out of it unscathed.

He also survived his about-face halfway through the campaign on the surtax imposed on higher income brackets when he decided that this should not be repayable after all.

The role luck and coincidence played in the election outcome is debatable. What today looks like an elegant side-step could well have been a plain stumble — as in the case of the repayability of the surtax which had been agreed on in the original coalition deal.

It can also be argued that the Chancellor's image, compared with that of his challenger, was not all that bright. All that matters is that Kohl was proved right in his assessment of voter attitudes.

He risked a great deal and came out the winner with the second-best election result in the CDU's history. Still, he did not quite get the absolute majority. This has enabled him to continue the coalition with the FDP, which he has always wanted anyway.

He needs the Free Democrats in order to secure CDU rule in the long run and to keep the CDU in check.

Kohl banked on a well-established experience in this country: governments here are almost never toppled by elections, particularly new governments.

Though many people were outraged at the manner in which last year's change of government was brought about, they were rather relieved about the change itself; and they confirmed this in the polling after the emotions had subsided.

Like Willy Brandt in 1972, Kohl now profited from the fact that the people felt that it was time to give the new men a chance.

Another decisive factor was the fact that the conservatives put the emphasis in the campaign on the fields in which they were strongest and the SPD weakest, at least in the eyes of the public.

They campaigned with economic and fiscal issues and were helped in this by the business community's massive support.

Whenever business associations came up with statements it was to the effect that the conservatives were the only ones who could bring about a new era of economic growth.

Clearly in America's negotiating position is also a prerequisite for the chances of Kohl's government coming to terms with the strains with which it will be faced.

Bonn will have to continue seeking the largest possible consensus basis at home.

Will Strauss be in and if so what portfolio is open to him? The foreign office, for one thing, is closed to him.

that only the centre-right government could bring about an upswing.

As it happens, nobody in this country can in the long run govern against the wishes of the business community, nor can anybody win an election against them.

This is particularly so in times of economic crises and when economic indicators seem to confirm the incumbent government's policy.

This time there was nothing that would have side-tracked the voter's attention from the economic issues, unlike in 1972 when the public was fascinated by Ostpolitik.

The missile issue, which boiled down to vague fears and apprehensions, had no major impact on the outcome of the election. Moreover, Kohl defused this issue by saying that there was no reason why there should be no interim solution. He said the government did not insist on an either/or policy.

What mattered even more than personalities and issues was that the conservatives managed to convince the electorate of the alternatives hope and stability on the one side and uncertainty on the other.

In a nutshell, they confronted the electorate with the option of choosing either an upturn or what they called the "Red/Green menace."

The conservatives offered the voters hope — frequently in cheap coinage — and the voters bought it.

This was where the SPD was at its weakest. But critics who said that the Social Democrats were wishy-washy towards the Greens, that they lacked toughness towards the conservatives and that their candidate marched into defeat with a noble and intellectual stance, miss the point.

None of this was decisive. The fact is that the SPD started to deteriorate in the mid-1970s and that this decline cannot be made good in a single election campaign.

Social Democrats no longer have political visions. This had long been covered up by Helmut Schmidt's style of government which eventually led to a situation in which the SPD was seen as a party that hampers its own Chancellor's policy.

Vogel bared this dilemma. He formulated a policy for thinking people, putting his emphasis more on asking questions than on drafting programmes. He was honest and true to himself and the problems that permit no easy answers. He did not present himself as a "harbinger of hope" but as a man who wanted to gear his party and the nation to the hard times ahead.

Though this is no way to win an election, Vogel gave his party a long-term foundation — not for a new Social Democratic vista but for a structure of solid answers to political problems.

It will take a long time before the SPD defines the political issues of this country and it will take even longer before it assumes power again. The pendulum of German politics swings slowly and it would take an exceptional situation for the SPD to capture a new majority.

In any event, the political front line in Bonn has changed drastically. The SPD has become a critical but rather important accompaniment to Bonn politics, which are now drafted by the Kohl-Genscher-Strauss triad.

There will be a high stakes poker game in progress during the couple of weeks before the Bundestag elects the new chancellor.

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Chancellor Kohl... the dominant figure.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

Kohl has promised this to Genscher, who staked his political career to bring about the change in Bonn.

Will Strauss try to unseat Gerhard Stoltenberg from the Finance Ministry? Amid all this speculation, there is one thing that seems certain: the FDP will lose one portfolio.

The next few weeks will decide whether Kohl, the winner of the election, will remain firmly in control. Ludwig Erhard (in 1965) serves as much as a warning as does the case of Willy Brandt in 1972.

The CDU will pay a tough hand; but there is also the fact that the FDP cannot afford to make many concessions if it is to emphasise its government role.

What is to happen to the surtax? Is it to be repaid or not? This was an issue with which both the conservatives and the FDP wooed voters and won. The dispute over this issue might have been a clever strategy in the campaign, but now the matter has become a stumbling block for the coalition in general and the Chancellor in particular.

There are no major alternatives clashing in the coalition negotiations; but there are variations on the conservative theme: variations represented respectively by Blum, Lambsdorff and Strauss.

Anybody wanting to influence Bonn politics in the next few years will have to choose between these variations. There can be no doubting that the voters wanted the change; but how far did they want this change to go? They voted for hope, economic upturn and security. But are these voters still the citizens of the 1950s and is this state still the state of that era?

Neither the centre-right coalition nor the opposition can fall back on the traditions of the past. Lifestyles and problems have changed in the past 30 years.

The new problems (unemployment even when there is growth and the missile deployment, which the majority of the public still rejects) have not disappeared with the change of government.

It is time now for the government to tackle everyday problems without ideology and in a conservative spirit that leaves room for liberalism and will answer rather than steamroller over the questions Vogel posed.

True enough, we are now a country governed by the conservatives; but they don't own the nation.

Rolf Zündel

(Die Zeit, 11 March 1983)

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Spit in his eye

The general election is being described as the largest shift of voters in 25 years. It might seem to be, but the truth is not so spectacular.

Polling results, in fact, fell within the normal voting patterns.

There is a rumour of conservative voters. In 1957, the conservatives claimed 42.7 per cent of those eligible to vote. That bloc has not changed since.

Special factors such as the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961, the ossification of the political system (Grand Coalition in 1969) and controversial chancellorship candidates (Strauss in 1980) did little more than prevent the potential followers from actually voting conservative.

But when this type of factor does not exist, the conservatives manage to rally all their followers.

In view of this situation, the CDU/CSU did not even need to capture new potential voters after the shift of government last autumn. Their campaign was therefore directed at rallying their existing followers to the greatest possible extent.

There was no need for any careful selection of campaign issues nor was there a need for an elaborate strategy.

The style and strategy of the CDU/CSU campaign was confirmed when 18,997,186 voters voted conservative.

This success was made possible by the full exploitation of the CDU/CSU's follower potential. The fact is that the CDU/CSU did not need to capture any new voters.

It therefore follows that the conservative voters potential did not increase on 6 March. There is also nothing to substantiate the wide-spread contention that there is a conservative trend.

The Social Democrats have always been troubled by the problem that the number of classical Social Democratic voters, mostly belonging to organised labour, have never been enough to give them a majority.

The SPD has therefore always had to try and rally additional support — it mostly succeeded.

The Social Democrats thus managed gradually to increase their following. In 1949, their follower potential was about 22.2 per cent of eligible voters. By 1972, this had risen to 41.2 per cent. This doubling of the potential was made possible by the fact that the SPD, through its work in municipal and local politics, had gained the public's confidence and was increasingly regarded as being competent in many political fields.

Plausible programmes and initiatives that coincided with the interests of the people (*Ökopolitik* in 1972) helped the SPD gain majorities in State assemblies and the Bundestag.

But the Social Democrats have been losing ground since 1972. By 1980 their share of eligible voters had dwindled to 37.6 per cent (16 million).

In the elections after the October 1980 national election the party was unable to fully exploit even this shrunken potential. In the Lower Saxony state election the SPD captured only 68 per cent of its potential and, in Hamburg, 72 per cent.

The circumstances under which the change of government last year took place were instrumental in bringing about the SPD's success in Hesse and Bavaria (88 per cent of the potential each) and in Hamburg on 19 December 1982 (94 per cent). The party had hoped that the 6 March national election would at least enable it to hold its 1980 position.

The hopes were dashed. It turned out that the SPD had only about 15 million

THE ELECTION

Voting patterns indicate swing was not so great

followers on 6 March. That is about one-third of the eligible voters.

The SPD is thus back to a share of voters corresponding to the position at the beginning of the 1960s.

This was not due to an abrupt loss of favour with the voters. It was a gradual development that set in close to 15 years ago on the municipal plane.

The reasons for this were:

The loss of the SPD's municipal base (five out of 12 major cities how have conservative mayors), the increasing estrangement between local party organisations and the electorate, the diminishing opportunity for workers to make themselves heard within the party, the SPD's derision of typical middle class values (performance at work, consumer attitudes, etc.) and wrong responses to changes in the structure of voters.

In 1972, 1976 and 1980, these negative trends were offset by the popularity of the incumbent chancellors (Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt).

But this time neither the apparently closed ranks of the SPD after 1 October 1982 nor a good chancellorship candidate were enough to make the voters overlook the deep rift within the party.

The structural crisis of the SPD stripped it of a chance of catching up with the conservatives in the course of the campaign. In fact, the SPD was not even able to fully rally its own supporters.

Even disenchantment with the CDU/CSU campaign did not enable the SPD to get all its backers to the polling stations.

It will never be known whether it is true that 1.6 million SPD followers went to the CDU/CSU on March 6. What is known is that five million eligi-

ble voters made use of their right not to vote. This is typical of the SPD, whose followers have always preferred to abstain rather than switch sides.

The FDP and the Greens were more successful on 6 March in their bid for voters who are not committed to the conservative camp.

The FDP, which has never had a dependable bloc of voters, was able to capture enough non-conservative voters.

Social Democratic hopes of getting the votes of many former social-liberal FDP followers did not materialise. After all, why should a voter who in 1980, 1976 and 1972 opted for the FDP as a watchdog over the SPD cast his ballot for the social democrats in 1983?

The likely explanation is that — like before — many voters again wanted a watchdog, no matter what the policy.

The electorate thus seems to have made the FDP an integral part of federal politics in Germany, regardless of programmes, problems, candidates and party constellations. The FDP's campaign issues played next to no role in this decision.

The Greens were also made an integral part of the German party landscape in the election.

Their surprisingly large follower potential, estimated at 1.8 million eligible voters nationwide, did not come as a surprise. What did come as a surprise was that they managed to convert this potential into votes in the election.

On 19 December 1982, in the Hamburg polling, the full potential of Green followers (about 90,000) was rallied only in the elections to district councils. The simultaneous election to the Hamburg assembly gave the Greens only

Eight years in power the likely outcome

frontation between Schmidt and Strauss in 1980.

Emotions also ran high after the breakdown of the SPD/FDP coalition. The electorate's mood shifted in favour of a CDU/FDP combination.

Well over 50 per cent of the public felt that it was time for a change. They included large portions of the working class who now held that "the others" were more efficient in solving the nation's economic, fiscal and social problems.

The SPD was weakened still further by the heavy support young voters gave to the Greens. The young are over-represented in the Green vote.

Memories of the past give the feeling that the government will stay in office for eight rather than four years.

But the same memories also indicate that those pessimistic Social Democrats who think that they have been swept out of power for the rest of the century are wrong.

There will, of course, be a crystallisation process, primarily within the SPD

some 70,000 votes. But on 6 March the Greens captured 90,000 votes in Hamburg.

The SPD will have to ask itself whether it drew a clear enough line in the campaign between itself and the Greens. The party had hoped that the Greens half-way in vote programmes would capture some environmentalist votes.

The point is that in Hamburg the SPD drew a clear line, 16,000 Green voters did not opt for the party on 19 December 1982. Months later, their attitude had changed.

The outcome of the general election has firmly established the Greens as a fourth (or third, depending on the looks at it) political force in the Republic of Germany — and applies to all levels of government.

In the major cities, the Greens have come from middle class and their values can be described as post-materialistic.

The Greens are bound to play a part in municipal elections. The voting turnout is always higher than in national elections.

They barely need to campaign in a classical sense because their communications structure and commonly held values are more than posters in rallying voters and getting them into State assemblies and Halls.

The voters opted for a four-party system on 6 March, and the conservative policy and that the existing difficulties will be tackled in a spirit of "more chance of carving out stable working market and less state."

The FDP's watchdog's role has removed the political reserve less use to that party on municipal levels than it is in national elections.

And the Social Democrats will find it tough time recapturing lost confidence as evidenced in the Rhineland election that coincided with the national election.

Manfred G...
(Die Zeit, 11 March 1983)

— If for no other reason because of change in generation.

Helmut Kohl will be faced with a coalition of three in forming his government. The warnings from Munich right after the polling station when Franz Josef Strauss said: "I can work without us" and "nothing can work against us."

The next days will show whether the CDU will be able to wield a coalition negotiations because it is, after all, still a force to be reckoned with and will have to be given its full voice.

There is also the fact that not only in Strauss' own party but in the group in Bonn is a friend of his.

There are those whose sympathies more with Kohl and Genscher. The party depends on what course of action the government plans.

In his waning years, Adenauer said that it is particularly difficult to form a government after a long election success.

Granted, the centre-right government still has many a problem with in drafting a programme and calling portfolios.

The Social Democrats are no longer a Schmidt party (as they never really were) but a united party of factions.

It was Vogel's great achievement to have made the party close ranks.

Continued on page 9

THE ECONOMY

How the government is likely to handle the major questions

The centre-right government in Bonn now has both the time and the political parliamentary majority it needs to implement the economic and social policies it drafted in the autumn. It can do so unhindered by the usual campaign promises because none were made.

Attention in the next few years will be centred on the consolidation of the budget and on putting the social security system on an even keel financially.

The envisaged change in the income tax system will have to be set aside until the economic situation improves.

Work in the coming legislative period will concentrate on these areas:

Budget and fiscal planning: The emphasis will be on reducing the deficit in the coming legislative period.

Poll: green light for investment

The election victory of the centre-right coalition has relieved businessmen of one major uncertainty.

They know now that the next four years will be marked by a free enterprise policy and that the existing difficulties will be tackled in a spirit of "more chance of carving out stable working market and less state."

This has removed the political reserve less use to that party on municipal levels than it is in national elections.

There are clear indications that many of the measures that were placed subject to the election outcome (though naturally without spelling this out) will now be finalised.

Statements to this effect have been made by both a dealer in construction machinery and a car dealer.

One firm of management consultants had half a dozen pending deals that had been tentatively commissioned.

The credit department of a major private bank also reports that business has picked up. And even the *Igoda* fashion shop had wavered only a few days earlier placed their orders on the day after the polling.

It remains to be seen whether these are individual instances or a trend. The fact is that the examples listed concern primarily medium sized firms whose investments are much more governed by political moves than those of major companies.

The political left, which had spoken of an investment strike during the campaign, is bound to revert to this issue once orders start coming in.

But there is no getting away from the fact that businessmen and the self-employed, who account for only ten per cent of the working population, wanted this government and voted for it as was their good right. It is also their good right to now place the orders which they previously held back due to what they considered a political risk.

This is not so much a matter of boosting the coalition partners as of commercial considerations. This is not only a confirmation but a challenge for the new government.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 March 1983)

by spending cutbacks. Over a period of several years, spending increases are to be limited to one to two per cent less than the nominal growth of the GNP. This would mean that expenditures in 1984 should amount to about DM260bn. The restriction of spending is to be continued until the structural deficit (in other words that part of the deficit that is unaffected by economic developments) has been removed.

Taxation: There is still an unspent residue of DM4bn available from the increase of VAT. Some of this money is to be used to further reduce taxes that not profit-related. The main beneficiaries are to be small and medium companies. A somewhat smaller portion of this amount is to provide tax relief for so-called "half families" (mostly divorced people) in line with a Constitutional Court ruling. Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg has made it quite clear that any reduction in the income tax rate will be contingent on fiscal development. As a result, this must be seen as an open issue to be dealt with in the years to come.

Capital accumulation: The government intends to waste no time presenting a blueprint for this issue. There is general consensus that the range of subsidised savings provided for under the 3rd Capital Accumulation Act (the so-called DM624 Law) should be extended to include direct capital participation in the employer company. This is to be given priority over the promo-

tion of pure savings accounts. It remains open whether the amount eligible for subsidies will be raised from the present DM624 to DM936. The final decision here will depend on the cost of the scheme to the government.

Shorter working lives: Government plans to provide a legal framework for shorter working lives that would enable the parties to collective bargaining to make a deal on this issue are also part of overall policy. But it should prove difficult to reconcile the blueprints that have become known so far with overall government policy. The legal framework that would enable the parties to collective bargaining to arrive at an agreement on early retirement would have to be drafted in such a way as to put no additional strain on the taxpayer — neither through higher taxes nor through additional contributions to the social insurance funds.

Social security pensions: One of the government's most urgent projects is to hammer out legislation aimed at consolidating the pensions system. Due to high unemployment and low growth rates, the Pension Fund is likely to find itself with a DM7bn deficit in 1984. There is talk of further cutbacks in pensions and an eventual increase of contributions from the working population from 18.5 to 19 per cent. Contributions are already due to rise from 18 to 18.5 per cent as of 1 September 1983. Due to the difficult financial position of the Pension Fund, the redrafting of the pro-

visions for pensions for the next-of-kin of deceased pensioners that must be implemented in 1984 and is therefore known as the "1984 reform" (in line with a Constitutional Court ruling) will bring only minor changes in favour of the insured. It remains open whether the government will implement the so-called "participation model" favoured by all political parties or whether it will seek some other solution. The participation model would provide the insured with a title to his pension. The originally envisaged coupling of the 1984 reform with an improvement in the social security provisions for women (that would regard child-rearing years as paid-up contribution years) will have to be shelved temporarily for reasons of cost.

Health insurance: Due to the additional strain increased contributions to the Pension Fund (possibly unemployment insurance) will cause, Labour Minister Norbert Blum intends to go out of his way to cut back on costs in the health sector. He not only wants to keep health insurance contributions at their present level but actually wants to reduce them to ease the strain social security contributions impose on the workers' pocketbooks. Legislation to limit hospital costs (where the increases have been steepest) could be passed in the course of this year.

Housing construction: The Bonn Housing Ministry will concentrate its efforts on new provisions to promote housing construction through tax relief. The idea is to make private investment in housing construction more attractive and to promote home ownership. Among the more long-term projects in the housing sector are reforms on rent subsidies next year that would mitigate the effects of rising rents.

Jürgen Forster/Hans Barbler
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 8 March 1983)

Performance of business the crucial factor

good past mistakes — are a must if consumers and investors are to regain their faith in the future; and this, in turn, is a must in overcoming the present crisis."

But will the business community invest? "Election dates are no investment dates," Otto Wolff von Amerongen, president of the German Chamber of Commerce and Industry (DIHT), said just before the election regarding economic developments this year. We might do well to remember his words.

Even so, there is no denying the already visible upward trends in some sectors of industry (construction, automobiles, machinery). And in other sectors businessmen are looking to the future with more optimism.

The improved predictability of the government's economic policy as a result of the election outcome is bound to make the business community optimistic rather than pessimistic.

But even should the economy get off the ground more swiftly than expected, there still remains a great deal for the new government to do.

The investment-promoting decisions of the past weeks, the start of the budget consolidation — especially by restricting this year's deficit to DM41bn — and the sinking interest rates as a result, coupled with declining oil prices, low

inflation rates and a sound current account are still no reason to go overboard with expectations for the future.

Mass unemployment is still with us and could get worse. Another source of headaches is the straits in which individual branches of industry find themselves — especially steelmakers and shipyards. Both government and industry will have to come up with some imaginative solutions here.

The government's maxim to give priority to individual responsibility and performance over state intervention as demanded by Count Lambdorsff should apply in the future as well.

The outcome of the election has made it clear that the majority of the people go along with the government's theory that "economic growth and new jobs can only come about through thrift and investment, industriousness and efficiency on the part of the citizen at large and the business community." (Gerhard Stoltenberg)

This is a clear rejection of state tutelage.

The electorate has also clearly rejected any kind of demand-side job programmes that would of necessity entail larger deficits, higher taxes and less buying power for the consumer.

The centre-right government is still convinced that "unemployment could be reduced markedly if there were a dependable medium term planning that would make providing more jobs commercially viable and that would improve job creating investment conditions." (Count Lambdorsff)

Reimar Fitzlaff

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 7 March 1983)

FINANCE

Stockmarkets give glimmer of hope that better times are around the corner

Stockmarkets have always been a good barometer by which to measure economic performance; and the stockmarkets of the Far East and, above all, the USA have been bullish since the beginning of the year.

Even though speculators tend to go overboard, the widespread optimism on German stock exchanges could have a positive effect on the economy as a whole and speed up the recovery that seems to be in the offing.

The frequently seen 'spectre' of a major world-wide depression has now diminished, notwithstanding the fact that there are 30 million jobless in the 24 most important industrial countries — a sad record no matter how one looks at it.

But the job market has always been a lag indicator. And this also applies to the Federal Republic of Germany where the February jobless figure rose to more than 2.5 million.

Joblessness will go down in the next few months for seasonal reasons rather than due to the beginning economic upturn.

Even so, the outlook has become brighter.

It is possible that the business community's mood is better than its actual situation at the moment. But the mood of investors and consumers happens to be an economic factor in its own right.

Growing confidence that an upturn is just round the corner must boost the demand for plant and equipment, automobiles, housing and consumer goods. In any event, the spring trade fairs have recorded a brisk business in consumer goods.

This favourable atmosphere is now being buttressed by increasingly positive economic indicators. Last year's current account closed with a DM7bn surplus — after being in the red for three years. The growth of imports has been slight while exports have picked up considerably, improving the terms of trade for Germany's foreign trade.

Major uncertainties as to the development of world trade will prevent this year's export business from skyrocketing but even so, the current account is likely to close with a surplus similar to that of 1982.

Due to the emphasis on capital goods in Germany's exports, this country's export performance was better than the overall development of world trade. Still, the export business is not likely to provide any enormous impulses in the course of the year. This is due not only to the foreign countries and declining export orders from the Opec nations but primarily to the lack of growth impulses from the rest of the industrial world and to growing protectionism.

There are a number of favourable economic indicators for Germany. The rise in the consumer price index has for the first time in years dropped below 100 per cent. And wholesale prices are below those of last year.

Despite the VAT increase as of 1 July, inflation this year is likely to be markedly below four per cent. This, in turn, will also lead to collective bargaining deals with pay increases of less than four per cent, as heralded by the Volkswagen pay deal.

There are also some positive indicators regarding domestic demand. According to the Ifo Institute for Economic Research, the consumer is ready to buy again. This applies particularly to major purchases.

The vaunted crisis pessimism among consumers seems to be dissipating, as evidenced by declining savings quotas that inevitably go up in times of crisis.

While across-the-board industrial production continues to decline, the news from the construction industry is good. Declining mortgage rates and favourable price developments could soon turn housing construction into a buyer's market.

The outlook for the USA and Japan has also become much brighter. In any event, the latest speech by US Federal Reserve Bank President Volcker gave rise to cautious optimism on the development of interest rates.

Volcker made it quite clear that interest will continue to go down.

Another positive effect will come from the announcement that America's inflation rate — now about four per

cent — will continue to go down this year.

Industrial prices already declined by one per cent in the first four weeks of the year. January housing construction was up 35.8 per cent and the auto industry has reported sales to be up 10.2 per cent.

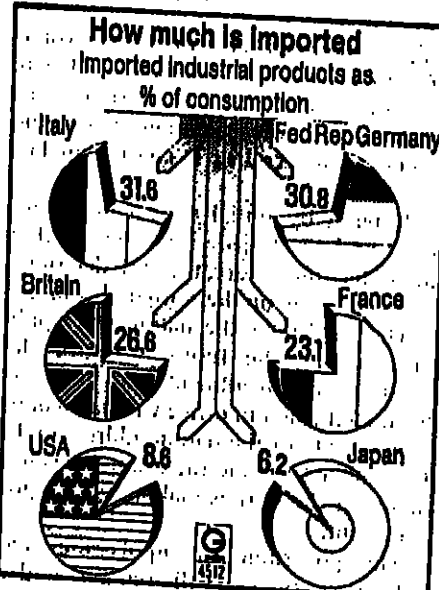
Overall industrial output has risen by at least one per cent, with gains being shown in all sectors.

Even though the anticipated reduction of Federal Reserve Bank interest rates has not yet materialised, the US stock market has been extremely bullish in the past few months, making the Dow Jones average surpass the dream mark of 1,100 a week or so ago.

A major negative element in the USA is that country's mammoth budget deficit of about \$200bn for 1983 and the foreign trade deficit estimated at \$65bn for this year.

Japan is also headed for real growth this year. Output for fiscal 1983 is expected to rise 3.4 per cent as against Germany's anticipated zero growth. With an inflation and industrial pay

Exporters coy about achievements



ment of foreign demand has nothing to do with their doubts as to their own competitiveness but with the globally growing economic and political risks.

Another survey by the Munich-based Ifo Institute shows that the outlook now is much less pessimistic than in the autumn.

The fact is that the world-wide economic situation has become brighter. The problems resulting from the over extension of some developing and East Bloc countries have meanwhile been mitigated by the assistance they received from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

And, what's more, there are clear indications that the upturn in America is well on its way. If for no other reason, the very weight of the world's most important economic power must of necessity benefit the rest of the industrial world.

rise of only 2.7 per cent last year. Japan's notorious work discipline is nothing in this sector that could threaten Japan's competitiveness on world markets.

What does worry the Tokyo government is the growing price world-wide — especially towards these goods. But, considering the fact that the world markets are still suffering from foreign trade surpluses, this is not surprising.

Japan had a current account surplus of \$6.9bn in 1982. But Japan's decline for the first time in 29 years.

The Tokyo stock exchange is still poor, with a decline of 10 per cent in 1982 against the year. The across-the-board rate in the Community was 9.7 per cent — almost twice Germany's consumer prices.

Unemployment is now turning out to be the greatest problem by far. What industry needs jobs is lower interest rates that will encourage investment more.

All in all, there is now a clear silver lining. A good team deal was confirmed by AEG chief of the USA, Japan, Germany and other countries now in the re-good chance of pulling the weight, Dr Wilhelm Schaaf, acted as a

nominee out of the mire of recession.

Seasonally adjusted, the average of the EC countries has not improved further in the past few years according to Bundesbank statistics. There is also every likelihood that reign trade will impact on growth impulses.

For German exporters, this demand will improve considerably. After all, close to 80 per cent of Germany's exports goes to Western industrial countries (close to 50 per cent to EC member nations).

The economic improvements in the industrial world are also likely to have an effect on commodity prices. This, in turn, will improve sales in parts of the Third World.

Naturally, there are also some considerable risks, among them protectionist trends.

Even the EC is making no headway in bringing about an integrated community market. Individual countries using subtle methods to interfere with the free flow of trade, mostly on the verge of legitimacy.

Should a strong upswing with rising unemployment world-wide materialise, there would naturally be pressure on governments to restrict imports. But this is a bridge that will be crossed.

The recovery that seems to be setting in is still too weak to affect the employment situation immediately. Moreover, there are still some doubts as to whether the upturn will be a one — mainly due to American huge budget deficits which make it difficult to reduce interest rates. But tomorrow's danger.

For the moment, the picture is bright, and that includes the German export business.

This year, too, is likely to see a rise in exports. Though this might be enough to get the domestic economy off the ground, it will nevertheless be a booster. Hans-Jürgen Maier (Die Welt)

BUSINESS

French firm to buy AEG-Telefunken after bid for Grundig short-circuits

Thomson-Brandt, the state-owned French firm, has agreed to buy 75 per cent of AEG-Telefunken. The acquisition follows an unsuccessful bid by West German electronics company Grundig.

Thomson dropped the Grundig bid because it became clear that it would be rejected by the German cartel office. AEG-Telefunken is a wholly owned subsidiary of AEG, which is involved in a process known as *Vergleichsverfahren* (a type of receivership).

The cartel office was said to have been prepared to agree to the French bid for Grundig only if Philips agreed to buy 24.5 per cent stake in Grundig, which is Dutch, refused.

Thomson-Brandt/AEG-Telefunken deal was confirmed by AEG chief of the USA, Japan, Germany and other countries now in the re-good chance of pulling the weight, Dr Wilhelm Schaaf, acted as a

nominee out of the mire of recession. The deal still has to be approved by the cartel office, but no veto is expected. A spokesman said that no official decision had been received but the deal had been informed of the deal.

Approval is expected to be given as soon as the formal application has been submitted.

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In profile

Telefunken came into being in 1903 when AEG and Siemens & Halske of Berlin formed the Gesellschaft für Drahtlose Telegraphie, Telefunken for short, as a 50-50 joint venture.

In 1941, AEG bought the 50 per cent Siemens stake in Telefunken, making it a wholly owned subsidiary. And in 1967 Telefunken was renamed AEG-Telefunken.

As part of the overall AEG electrical conglomerate, Telefunken specialised in 'consumer' electronics, making radios, TV sets, tape recorders and record players.

In 1982 sales were DM1.5bn with a payroll of 3,500 and manufacturing plants in Brunswick and Celle. A Hanover plant was shut down in 1979 due to cheap Japanese sets flooding the European market and the resulting deterioration of prices.

There were rumours at various times that AEG intended to sell its consumer electronics sector to Japan's Matsushita.

In 1982, Grundig planned to take over Telefunken but this plan was dropped.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 10 March 1983)

Telefunken's German payroll now stands at 3,500 (1,750 in Hanover, 1,000 in Celle and 250 in Brunswick). It is still unknown whether more staff will be laid off under Thomson-Brandt management.

Thomson-Brandt's 1981 consumer electronics sales stood at about DM3bn. The concern's German sales through Saba, Nordmende and Dual (combined payroll 3,700) were about DM1.7bn in 1982.

Thomson-Brandt's across-the-board operating losses in 1982 amounted to DM450m. A company spokesman has said that this year will again close in the red. Its world-wide payroll is 31,800.

Even before the latest deal, AEG and Thomson-Brandt were partners in the Videocolor GmbH, Ulm. But the company, which made picture tubes for colour TV, was subsequently shut down.

Telefunken is also involved in a joint venture with the French company plus the Japanese Matsushita concern. They operate a video recorder factory.

If Grundig had merged with Telefunken, the Japanese participation would have had to be relinquished on orders from the cartel office.

By approving the Telefunken/Thomson-Brandt merger, the Berlin watchdog authority would at least prevent Philips from being a party in the conglomerate. This would also enable Grundig to step up its cooperation with Philips.

Grundig's sales in the 1981/82 business year (ending on 31 March) stood at almost DM2.9bn. They are expected to rise to about DM3.5bn this year. Last year's profits were more than DM200m.

The Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry has not yet commented on the latest development in the consumer electronics industry. But a spokesman, referring to Telefunken's Berlin operation, has expressed hopes that Thomson-Brandt will take Berlin's special position into account.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 10 March 1983)

High stakes

Grundig advisers Ludwig Poullain and Max Grundig had hoped to collect about DM800m for the 75.5 per cent block of shares to be sold to Thomson-Brandt. It seems the stakes in this poker game were too high.

Telefunken's 1982 sales stood at about DM1.5bn (1981: DM1.7bn). But the 1982 figure does not include the sales of the Milan subsidiary (which has meanwhile been sold) and the Mexican plant (which has been shut down).

The 1982 operating losses are still unknown though it is known that they stood at about DM200m in 1981, mostly accounted for by the foreign operations.

The lion's share of sales is accounted for by colour TV sets of which 700,000 were produced last year.

Sales at the beginning of this year were about 25 per cent higher than a year earlier.

FLASHBACK

100 years since the death
of Karl Marx

For 70 years the grave of Karl Marx and his wife Jenny in the Highgate cemetery in London was covered by a simple stone slab.

In March 1883 only 20 mourners turned up at his funeral to pay their last respects.

A pretty modest tribute to a man who is today regarded as the "father of the world revolution".

Marx was transferred to a more prominent site in the cemetery in 1954; two years later a huge bronze bust of him was placed over the grave.

Khrushchev and Bulganin laid a wreath on his grave in 1956 in honour of the spiritual father of the 1917 October Revolution.

Every time a parade is held in the Red Square in Moscow, larger-than-life portraits of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the forefathers of today's Soviet state, hang resplendent on the front of the GUM department store opposite the VIP platform near Lenin's mausoleum.

During the funeral ceremony 100 years ago, Friedrich Engels, loyal companion, co-author of important works and a "helper in need" to the Marx family, said (then, it sounded exaggerated): "His name will live on throughout the centuries, as will his works".

Today, the teachings of Marx form the ideological basis for over a third of the world's population.

Who would have expected this of the poor German emigré living in London at the end of the 19th century?

Karl Marx died on 14 March, 1883, as a result of a pulmonary abscess. He passed away at the age of 65 while sitting in his favourite armchair.

His body was found by two people who had stood by his side for most of his life: Friedrich Engels and Helene Demuth, known as *Lenchen*, a housekeeper to the Marx family and the mother of his illegitimate son, Henry.

Marx died only 15 months after his wife Jenny and was buried in the same grave. The fact that his final resting place was to be in a cemetery in London, far away from his native country, was symbolic.

Marx spent over half his life in the British capital — altogether 34 years.

It was here that he wrote or conceived his most important works, including *Das Kapital*.

And yet London was never his true home, but more of a place to work, his headquarters.

Marx remained an internationalist, a stateless person; after he had renounced his Prussian citizenship in 1845 and after the British authorities had refused his application for naturalisation in 1874.

London, of the 19th century was a melting pot for emigrants of all nationalities and political shades.

First Metternich fled to the British capital in 1848 following the March revolution in Vienna.

Other visitors were the anarchist, Michael Bakunin; the Russian revolutionary, Alexander Herzen; and Wilhelm Liebknecht (father of Karl Liebknecht), who subsequently became a member of the *Reichstag*.

In 1864, Italian freedom-fighter Garibaldi was greeted in a triumphal procession and Lenin was also to spend a great deal of his time in this city.

London was the capital, the fulcrum, of an empire, and at the same time the centre of Britain's industrial strength built on the industrial revolution.

With a population of two-and-a-half million, London was the world's biggest city. The British tolerated the conglomeration of emigrants with a mixture of indifference and arrogance.

Marx, a newcomer himself with no English friends, contemptuously referred to his fellow-sufferers as "the sweepings of many nations" and "emigrant swine".

Even today there is no official compulsory registration for residents in Britain.

As opposed to the strict police surveillance in Berlin, Paris or Brussels, where Marx had been and from where he was expelled, the authorities allowed the "notorious German agitator" to develop the theoretical basis of world revolution.

Karl Marx was born on 3 March, 1818, in the small town of Trier on the Mosel.

He was born into a solid middle-class family. His grandfather was a Rabbi, his father a lawyer in the Prussian administration.

His father later became a convert to Lutheranism and changed his name from Hirschel to Heinrich. The family was well-off. They had a vineyard, a cook and two maids.

At the age of 17, Marx left his town of birth, once a Roman settlement, in 1835 to take up studying law in the university town of Bonn.

His father wanted him to follow in his own footsteps. However, Karl frittered away so much time writing romantic poems and enjoying student life that his father decided to send him to Berlin one year later.

There was more a disciplined atmosphere in the up-and-coming Prussian capital, more conducive to teaching and learning.

In Berlin, Marx became familiar with the basic teachings of Hegel and Feuerbach, which were to be so important for his own theories at a later date.

Shortly before he left Berlin, he became engaged to Jenny, the daughter of the Baron of Westphalia. The liberal and intelligent aristocrat was Marx's mentor.

Jenny, who was four years older than Marx himself, had to wait seven years for matrimonial bliss. She was a real companion through life, working for Marx as an unpaid secretary, giving birth to seven of his children and following him during his many moves as an

emigré. She very often went from one pawnshop to the next, and as her family was distantly related to the Scottish clan of the Campbells she was often able to pawn the napkins and damask table-cloths bearing the old coat of arms.

Marx was to suffer all his life from lack of money. Just as he waited, day in, day out, for the world revolution, he always hoped for the miracle of a large inheritance which would save him from his worldly suffering.

If it had not been for his loyal friend, Engels, he would have shared the fate of so many emigrants in London. Engels' financial support spared him squalor and misery.

Engels, the son of a textiles manufacturer, was born in Barmen on 28 November, 1820. In 1842, he was sent to Manchester by his father to take up a commercial apprenticeship.

His father hoped that he would then forget the fancy revolutionary ideas rampant among Germany's youth at the time.

Whereas Marx never stepped foot inside an English factory and had only ever seen a German one while visiting the Karlsbad spa, Engels had gathered practical experience on industrial life.

He had gained an insight into the bitter realities behind the magnificent facade of industrial expansion, whereas Marx remained the theoretician of the proletarian revolution.

Another point of dissimilarity was that Marx had led a "bourgeois" kind of life, a father with children; Engels, on the other hand, remained a life-long bachelor.

He lived together with a girl called Mary who worked in a spinning mill, and after she died with her sister Lizzy.

Only once was Marx unfaithful to his wife (his loyal housekeeper, *Lenchen*, was the third party).

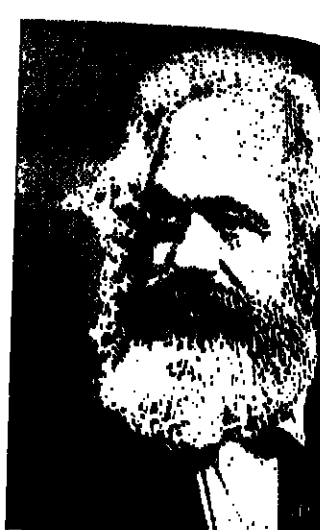
Engels lent a helping hand and paid the maintenance costs for Marx's illegitimate child, Henry, as if it were his own son.

Marx's daughter Eleanor, who was the only child to outlive the father, first heard of the existence of her half-brother on her dying bed.

Marx and Engels together were the intellectual factory which produced the teachings of scientific socialism.

Karl Marx dropped his studies of law in Berlin and became doctor of philosophy in 1841.

In 1842, he took on the job of editor-



Karl Marx ... problems with the

in-chief for the *Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne. He spent one-and-a-half years in Paris, where he met Heinrich Heine.

After having being expelled from France, he moved to Brussels in February 1845. Industrialisation was in full swing here.

He was already working closely with Engels and in February 1848 they published a truly historic document: the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

The *Manifesto* began with the sentence: "A spectre is haunting Europe, the spectre of Communism".

However, Marx and his family were constantly haunted by a spectre of a different kind: that of poverty.

Times were particularly hard when they moved to London in 1849. The family's first house in Anderson Road, brought them no luck at all.

After just a few weeks they were forced to move out, mocked by onlookers, as they could not pay the rent.

This time, however, things will develop in the other direction.

The process of (spatial) concentration, a direct result of mass production, will be reversed, thanks to the possibilities presented by the new media.

The tendency towards increasingly isolating various functions with the help of video terminal communications will, according to Schussmann, bring about a disintegration of the "standard picture" at the expense of the urban population of the city centres.

Contacts to official institutions and authorities can be established via the subscription method. In addition, the scribbled onto innumerable papers during Marx's regular visits to the British Museum (now the site of the British Library).

After Marx's death, Engels collected all these fragments (sometimes eaten away by mice) and compiled a total of 39 volumes and four supplementary volumes.

The British Museum with its reference books and other material was the source Marx needed to develop his theories on world revolution.

Apart from this it was not far from his home in Dean Street, one of the worst slums of the period.

A commemorative plaque on the street, Of Marx's three daughters, only one lived to adult age, two committed suicide.

His four great grandchildren are present as guests of honour during commemorative celebrations held in London in 1968 on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Marx's birth.

Not one became a Communist.

Wolfgang Kasper (Rheinische Post, 8 March 1983)

Continued from page 4

campaign and indeed to have motivated it. But this was done in campaign conditions and there was no need to make major policy decisions.

SPD MPs will take their places in the Bundestag in the knowledge that the Greens will constantly bring up the issue of missiles and Reagan, Nato and nuclear power, pollution and acid rain; and the SPD will have to say *Ja* to everything (a variation of the German word *Ja* and *Nein*).

SPD business manager, Peter Glotz and his campaign strategists knew why they tried to keep the Greens below the

five per cent needed for representation in the Bundestag.

Hans-Jochen Vogel and his handful of bright young men can be trusted to succeed in turning the tables on the Greens; and forcing them to come up with a clear *Ja* or *Nein* and thus splitting them.

This is the only course of action open to the SPD if it wants to survive.

As to the change of generation and new political talent: the FDP (which has lost many of its best people) and the Greens; along with the other parties, will have to prove in the 10th Bundestag that they can come up with new people and new ideas.

Hans Heigert (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 8 March 1983)

TECHNOLOGY

Technocrats peek into the future and
come up with some warnings

certain that the new technologies will bring about "a decade of upheaval and changes in human and social behaviour patterns."

Service and administration enterprises would be able to employ home-workers to carry out their activities.

"Workers will then only need to come into the office once or twice a week for back-up meetings and to establish contacts." Apart from this, all work could be completed at home.

Experts agree that this is a positive and yet dangerous development. On the one hand, there is an incalculable risk of increased concentration of power and additional control.

On the other, however, there would be an easing-up of rush-hour traffic, which would help future regional planning.

Via computerised network coordination, the areas neglected by the German Federal Railway System, particularly in

peripheral districts, would regain their importance.

Dr Hans-Jürgen von der Heide from the German *Landkreis* also pointed out such advantages.

The rural areas will now have the opportunity to participate in technological progress.

They could benefit from the fact that administrative and economic factors will be decentralised via increased data transport.

However, von der Heide believes that the primary beneficiaries will be the peripheral areas surrounding the built-up conurbations.

According to Klaus Schussmann, there will be an "interceptive line" between the urban core areas and the out-and-out rural areas.

Even the "lead of urban areas over rural districts can be cancelled out via telecommunications."

There will therefore be a growing chance of more balanced regional living conditions.

Whatever happens, Dr Klaus Türke from the Federal Research Institute for Regional Studies and Environmental

Planning in Bonn sees the concentrated conurbations as the big losers in this process.

They would lose most in terms of population and economic power.

Decentralisation and rationalisation will be felt most in insurance and banking centres.

"This is where urban planners must start talking to investors now about who is going to stay and who will be leaving."

Dr Klaus Winckler from the Federation of German Trade Unions, on the other hand, could only offer a gloomy forecast of things to come.

In his opinion, the only ones to gain substantially from the new technologies are the big companies.

Displacement competition will increase and the communication gap between the towns and the rural areas will widen.

According to union estimates, the rationalisation effect will endanger about ten million jobs.

Four million jobs will be "pensioned off" by 1990 alone, says a projection by the Federation.

What is more, the introduction of increased work at home will virtually eliminate labour on a full-time basis.

"There will eventually only be a few regular workers", Winckler states outlining the future situation on the labour market. "The rest will depend on seasonal employment on a day-to-day basis."

Karl Stankiewicz (Mannheimer Morgen, 4 March 1983)

On the brink of
an Orwellian
world

this is where the monitoring systems of national governments start to break down.

The accompanying thesis: "A worldwide informatisation tends to devour its own administrators."

Against this background, discussion centred on the old problem of "controlling the controllers."

Computer criminality in the USA, for example, costs American industry an annual \$100 million.

Authorities helplessly face the fact that computer fans or clever programmers can convert the cheap personal computers available anywhere into terminals which have access to outside data banks.

Two obvious dangers are the intrusion upon one's privacy and clever industrial espionage.

These prospects have also got the military authorities worried. During this conference, for example, it was again confirmed that in 1980 the USA became the "victim" of a supposedly Soviet-led nuclear attack three times within a few months. The reason? The computers went wrong.

As a result, a new programming language, the ADA system, was developed.

Nobody, however, really knows whether the system will function in case of an emergency; such a system can only be simulated.

The discussions participants in Bonn had their doubts: even under normal conditions, the coordination of decisions between the individual Nato military staffs within the computerised Nato system NICS does not appear to be working all that smoothly.

Frankfurter Neue Presse, 21 February 1983

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The Marx house in Trier, in Rhineland-Palatinate.

(Photo: dpa)

RESEARCH

Mountain-top laser beam probes damage to protective ozone layer

Scientists from the Max Planck Institute for Quantum Optics at the University of Munich are hoping that the flashes of laser light beamed vertically into the sky will provide information on the state of the ozone shield in the earth's atmosphere.

The laser experiments are being carried out on Germany's highest mountain, Zugspitze, in Bavaria.

The light echoes returning to earth will help discover how endangered the layer of ozone is by chemicals emitted into the atmosphere.

Ozone keeps the dangerous section of the sun's ultra-violet rays away from the earth's surface.

Ever since the mid-seventies, scientists have not been able to dispel the suspicions that this protective ozone shield is being chemically destroyed, particularly by fluorinated hydrocarbons contained as propellants in many aerosol cans or emitted as exhaust fumes by supersonic aircraft.

It had become evident that these chemicals, which were considered to be non-combustible, non-toxic and chemically resistant, were being attacked by the energy-rich ultraviolet light.

This leads to the release of chlorine, which can subsequently trigger off a catalytic chain reaction causing ozone, which contains three atoms of oxygen, to disintegrate into normal two-atom oxygen.



The latter, however, allows the dangerous ultra-violet rays to reach the earth's surface unhindered.

It is precisely this short-wave part of the sun's ultra-violet light which is absorbed by the deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) in the stockbreeding nuclei, which can result in changes of the inherent characteristics of virtually all living creatures.

This can lead to skin cancer for humans, disastrous loss of yields in the plant and animal world.

For this reason, the use of such propellants has been banned or its production severely restricted in the USA, Sweden, Norway and Canada.

With the help of the radar-like light-echo system, scientists on the Zugspitze are hoping to clarify the situation.

Every ten minutes, they receive a complete profile of the distribution of ozone at heights of between 10 and 40 kilometres.

The installation's central feature is an examiner laser operating on the basis of a mixture of the inert gas xenon and chlorine.

Every second, one hundred flashes of light are beamed up with a capacity of

ten million watts, each lasting twenty billionths of a second.

Together with its intensity, the colour of this laser light is very important.

The wave-length of its ultra-violet light (308 nanometres) was specifically selected so that it would be swallowed up by the ozone.

The greater the amount of light lost as it passes through the ozone layer, the thicker this layer must be.

The laser is designed in such a way as to be able to receive the weak scattered light which returns to earth and evaluate this together with the scattered light from the 338-nanometre primary beam; the light of which is not returned to earth in a weak form but which decreases with the increasing distance of the ozone layer.

An electronic comparison of the measured beam with the primary (reference) beam enables the thickness of the layer of ozone to be ascertained.

A supernova, the explosive death of a distant sun

It was a cold and frosty night in the Spanish Sierra Nevada.

The full moon bathed the white and round cupolas on the 2168-metre high Calar Alto in its wan light.

The two astronomers, Thorsten Neckel and Michael Sarcander, had just made their way to the peak to begin their star-gazing night shift.

The two scientists from Heidelberg were using their computer to try to trace a young 'frog' in the sky.

The automatically-operated telescope, weighing over three tons, smoothly focussed in on the 'tadpole' galaxy in the constellation of Perseus — 150 million light-years away.

This galaxy had been given its nickname by radio astronomers (official classification: NGC 1265).

On the star map charted with the aid of radio waves NGC 1265 looks just like the aforementioned freshwater amphibian.

Out two astronomers were planning to investigate and take a closer look at a few of the stars in this galaxy.

However, this was to be no routine night's work.

Hardly had the measuring instruments tuned in to the focal point of the 2.20 metre reflector than the unexpected occurred.

One of the stars located in the tadpole's 'head' shone brighter than all the billions of suns in all the galaxies put together.

Neckel and Sarcander soon realised that this moon-lit night was something special for astronomers.

What they were witnessing on their computer's display screen was the abrupt death of a distant star.

"150 million years ago that sun exploded in NGC 1265", explains Professor Hans Blasser, Director of the Max Planck Institute for Astronomy in Heidelberg and at the same time head of the Sierra team.

"The result was a supernova", he added.

Both light beams are picked up by 60-centimetre reflecting telescopes channelled into the appropriate measuring instruments.

Up to now, measurements of the ozone layer have only been possible on a snapshot basis, making it difficult to obtain meaningful findings on the fact that the concentration of ozone varies depending on the time of day and the fluctuation of sunspots.

The precision laser DM500,000, on the other hand, provides a complete picture of the ozone content on the higher regions of the earth's atmosphere.

Nevertheless, it would do little good for Germany's decision-makers if the police soon arrived and ruled serious thought to restricting the possibility of "involvement by venting this danger to the common persons".

Even if the danger of the ozone layer was definitely confirmed, countermeasures would take time to become effective.

As the earth's atmosphere is slowly being poisoned, it takes years before the fluorinated hydrocarbons released reach the stratosphere and begin to attack the ozone layer.

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LITERATURE

The late Arthur Koestler: personal daring in a faint-hearted age



Other publications then followed: *The Yogi and the Commissar*, "Pfeil ins Blaue" (literally: Arrow into Space) and "Der Gott, der keiner war" (The God who was no God, i.e. literally), which he wrote together with Spencer, Silone and others.

In his books, Koestler revealed a fine sense of psychological empathy in presenting the temptation of Communism and its destructive pseudo-logic.

After the war, in which Koestler was an internee, then French Foreign Legionary and, finally, a member of the British Army, he moved to England.

Henceforth, he wrote only in the English language.

He appeared at numerous international conferences, undaunted in the passion of his convictions.

His memorable appearance at the Berlin Conference for Cultural Freedom in 1950, for example, will go down in history.

No matter how underhanded the slander by the Soviet Union and its supporters in the West, Koestler was not a man to be intimidated.

And yet he always remained a true companion to his former comrades, who had it upon hard times through no fault of their own.

He too had suffered in poverty, and now that he had improved his financial position proved to be an exemplary friend in need.

Many young writers and scientists were helped by his words of advice, his stimulation and material, as well as spiritual support.

The seventies saw Koestler return to the Society for Christian-Jewish Cooperation has chosen the following motto as its theme for 1983: resistance at the right time.

The Society's German coordination committee explains why it believes this motto to be just as relevant in 1983 as it was in 1933:

"The right time for resistance activities was long before 1933, during a period in which every individual could freely voice his opinion in the then-existing constitutional state.

The politically motivated murders committed during the Weimar period and the accompanying circumstances, partly a result of the lax action taken by legal bodies; the lack of a national consensus in regard to these political methods; all these factors were signs of warning.

Why did so few realise this fact? Resistance was extremely difficult between 1933 and 1945.

Hannan Arendt was baffled and alarmed at explanations put forward by German intellectuals after 1933 to justify the fact that many had come to an arrangement "with Hitler".

The submissive proclamations by German universities are shameful.

Why such undignified subservience? It cannot be solely be explained by referring to the reign of terror at the time.

After 1945, we no longer spoke of resistance but of our duty to oppose certain trends or tendencies which are capable of endangering the basic democratic consensus in our society, even if they at present seem relatively harmless.

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Arthur Koestler... no illusions about the frailty of man. (Photo: dpa)

In summer last year took on the office of chairman of the controversial suicide association "Exit" and wrote the foreword to a brochure issued by the organisation containing advice on how to commit suicide.

His friends were convinced that Koestler would follow in the footsteps of Hemingway and Montherlant, and they realised that it would be pointless to try and prevent him from doing so by force of worldly and religious arguments.

Their memories of the writer will probably be tinged with bitterness.

Yet other memories of a good friend and a brilliant *Jahrhundergeist* will prevail.

His ideas and arguments have been of great advantage literature and science alike, and his own personal daring and moral courage a unique example in an age of faint-heartedness and conformity.

Günther Zehm
(Die Welt, 4 March 1983)

MORALITY

Lessons from Weimar



Helene Jacobs... a minute contribution. (Photo: DPA)

In view of the dangers facing the very survival of mankind on this earth (weapons, pollution, of the environment, population explosion, lack of energy resources), it is becoming more and more difficult to come to an understanding with one another.

There's simply so much we cannot understand.

There are growing signs of a lack of compromise and of people being purely interested in maintaining their own opinion.

Is this of any use?

If the fear of impending dangers drives us out of the sphere of rational thought into the realm of irrationality, the worst is to be expected.

It is our duty to counteract such tendencies at the right time, that means now!

During this week of brotherliness, the Hyper-Rosenzweig medal will be awarded to Helene Jacobs.

She once described her commitment to helping those persecuted by the Nazi regime as follows:

"I was able to take in a few of the the Jews myself and help others to get identity cards or food ration-cards.

This was just a drop in the ocean compared to the magnitude of the disaster.

These activities led to my imprisonment between 1943 and 1945.

A search triggered off by anonymous informers uncovered a further two relief operations in which I was involved.

The special court set up in the district court building in Berlin felt that two years in prison was a fair sentence.

After the war was over, my first intention was to re-establish the legal system which has been destroyed.

I started studying Law and devoted

Continued on page 12

Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in sec-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

These figures compiled over the years are invaluable both for planning journeys to distant countries and for scientific research.

Basic facts and figures for every country in the world form a preface to the tables. The emphasis is on the country's natural statistics, on climate, population, trade and transport.

The guides are handy in size and flexibly bound. Indispensable for daily use in commerce, industry and the travel trade.

Two volumes are already in print. They treat North and South America, 172 pp., DM 22.80; Asia/Australia, 240 pp., DM 24.80.

They will be followed in March 1983 by Africa, 115 pp., DM 19.80; Europe/USSR, 190 pp., DM 24.80.

Look it up in Brockhaus

Clashing views over the role of technology

Bremen computer scientist Professor Klaus Haefner says that Germany's educational system has failed to meet the challenge of computer technology. In *Die neue Bildungskrise* (The New Crisis in Education), published by Birkhäuser Verlag, Basel, he suggests what should be done. The author of this article, Sigrid Müller, a Hamburg University lecturer, says the book is not critical enough of either technology or society.

A future society dominated by computer technology would need to develop an elitist education system, says Professor Klaus Haefner.

He says highly talented children must be allowed to develop unhindered by the less talented.

In *Die neue Bildungskrise*, Professor Haefner writes that education policy must be aimed at sparing man from having to compete with technology. Technology is almost always better at thinking processes.

Professor Haefner develops the idea of two utopian societies existing in 1997: the "homuter society" (derived from the Latin word *homo* for man and computer) and the "alternative human society".

"As opposed to the homuter society that is aimed at a harmonious symbiosis of man and electronic data technology and in which man withdraws into thinking in emotional and all-encompassing categories, leaving the cognitive functions to computer technology, the alternative human society reserves the cognitive-intellectual processing of information for itself."

If the homuter society is to materialise by 1997, profits from automated production processes would have to be redistributed, working times would have to be cut down drastically and a special levy would have to be imposed on automated processes and used to help social hardship cases.

Direct democracy is a homuter society can be achieved relatively soon by using the data processing media. Polling and opinion surveys of any kind could be carried out via a monitoring screen. This could be controlled through individual identification numbers that would ensure one vote only for every eligible voter.

In addition, test questions would ensure that only qualified citizens could

participate in the polling. Every citizen would be able to qualify through his personal information system, provided he knows how to use it.

Haefner's ideas of society's development after the introduction of electronic information systems are totally devoid of a sound social analysis or theory.

Having succumbed to the fascination of new technologies, he depicts a world in which all problems can be solved by technology.

For him, technology is free of moral values. "If man fails in establishing a desirable homuter society the failure will not be a failure of technology. It will be due to the fact that some countries did not succeed in enabling man to cope with the leisure time and freedom suddenly available to him."

People in the work process who become redundant due to automation must be made to realise that work is no longer the main purpose of life. Education must place greater emphasis on the emotional side of man.

If our youth is to be prepared for a homuter society, schools must rid themselves of rational-intellectual subjects in favour of "social, philosophical and religious subjects, i.e. the humanities in general."

Handling information technology should be practised as early as elementary school. Children must learn about the functioning, development and possibilities of the new media; and "their non-rational capabilities must be promoted more heavily."

"New areas of spiritual and emotional understanding and action must be found that will make it possible for many decades and centuries to come to do and experience the things that are beyond the capabilities of modern data technology."

As Professor Haefner sees it, our educational policy must make it one of its foremost aims to spare man from competing with technology which is almost invariably superior to man in the cognitive sector.

One exception here is the so-called "incalculable people" who would spearhead the homuter society.

To give this elite a chance, we must abandon "today's homogeneity of education as early as in secondary schooling. Instead, we must clearly differentiate between the elite and others and

promote the elite. We must ensure that highly talented schoolchildren can develop unhindered by those who are less or differently qualified."

Professor Haefner's recommendations for an educational policy are of a general nature. He operates on the assumption of a multi-tier school system with today's range of subjects that have been augmented by information technology and complemented by such learning endeavours as sensuality and emotionality.

This leaves a number of questions open. Are six-year-olds to be taught with the help of a computer that the environment can seemingly be programmed? Are youngsters in the lower grades of secondary school to learn about communication and codetermination primarily through information technology? Is there to be a choice between "hard" universities for the elite and "soft" ones that would provide a "humane" climate? Can information technology replace man's thinking in all areas? Does emotion then remain as the last domain of mankind?

Perhaps we should use our ability to think and act in complex categories before computer technology has made this ability atrophy. Perhaps we should use this ability before the "incalculable people" have made an incalculable decision about us.

Sigrid Müller
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt,
6 March 1983)

Weimar...

Continued from page 11
myself to considering how the community could help in material terms to at least satisfy some of the demands made by those who have survived the Nazi inferno.

I channelled my services into the reparation activities.

Although the results were not satisfactory, an attempt was made to admit the injustice committed.

Gradually, I saw that people began to realise the self-destructive nature of anti-semitism.

Both the Catholic and Protestant churches started to seriously discuss the traditional Christian hostility towards the Jews as a problem relating to their own existence.

However, this still hasn't been generally acknowledged.

I must accept the fact that my help is but a minute contribution."

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt,
6 March 1983)

Computers: not enough classes

There are few opportunities for pupils not in the last year of school to learn computer science and data processing, according to a Bonn Education Ministry survey.

The lessons that were available usually offered in conjunction with other subjects such as mathematics.

Berlin schools have computer for less senior pupils as an individual subject, but in most cases it is optional.

In the states of the Federal Republic, courses are still being developed. Equipment is still being obtained.

In Baden-Württemberg, more than 40 per cent of secondary schools have computers. The figure for other states is 25 per cent.

Bavarian schools have been teaching computer science in the 10th and 11th grades since the 1981/82 school year, but also been available as an optional subject in the eighth, ninth and tenth grades.

The subject is taught in 1,045 Bavarian schools; 490 schools are adequately equipped.

Latest statistics show that between 10 and 15 per cent of the population in the Western world either has or has had a kidney stone.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, each year 120 out of every 100,000 develop their first kidney stone. Men are more prone than women. Children and older people are rarely affected.

Lower Saxony is running tests in the upper grades of 100 secondary schools. 40 per cent of the schools are equipped with microcomputers.

Half of Hesse schools now have electronic data processing equipment. In North Rhine-Westphalia, guidelines for this type of instruction have been in existence since 1975. 10 per cent of secondary schools have data processing installations in the upper grades.

Rhineland-Palatinate has had computer science since 1978.

In Schleswig-Holstein, more than half of the state's 100 Gymnasiums are equipped with microcomputers. In a drive from 1971 to 1976, the Bonn Education Ministry has set up 54 pilot projects at a cost of DM26m.

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt,
6 March 1983)

Doctors off to a cracking start with kidney stone treatment

method of eliminating kidney stones by shattering them with shock waves has come through trials with a rate of success.

The treatment was developed in Germany. It means that surgery can be avoided.

Professor Christian Chaussy, of Muenster, told a conference that since February 1980, the method had been used on more than 400 patients.

The success rate was 90 per cent. The advantages of the treatment are: less pain, less risk, earlier return to work.

Professor Chaussy said it should be possible to treat between 12,000 and 14,000 people a year this way.

Kidney stones cannot only be painful but also stubborn. Anybody who has had a stone once must expect that a second one will be formed eventually.

The relapse rate in untreated patients is 80 per cent, though preventive measures are possible through medication and change in lifestyle.

Through medication. If a stone gets stuck in the ureter, doctors can try to remove it with the help of a loop.

Chemical dissolution through medication is only possible with uric acid stones.

Tough animal experiments have shown that oxalate and phosphate stones can also be dissolved, medicine has not yet come up with drugs without toxic side effects for humans. This precludes the clinical use of these drugs.

These only remedy for stones wedged in the renal pelvis is surgery.

Peter Alken, of Mainz, said at the meeting that modern surgical methods have widened the scope of treatment, in view of the high incidence of kidney stones, it would seem justified to regard this disorder as a scourge similar to diabetes or rheumatism.

Professor Gerhard Hautmann, of Aachen, told the meeting. Medicine has not yet come up with an exclusive theory that would explain why kidney stones are formed. There are 150 different theories on the subject, all of which have been discarded as unsatisfactory.

It is, however, known that one pre-condition for kidney stones is urine with an excess of stone-forming substances and that this excess results from metabolic disorders.

The physical and chemical processes underlying the development of the crystals that eventually form stones are known. These processes explain how acid stones come into being.

But this says nothing about the formation of the much more frequent variety, that is, oxalate and phosphate stones.

An excess of calcium, oxalate or uric acid in the urine is inadequate as an explanation as are such other frequently mentioned factors as a low volume of urine and changes in this acidity.

There are other risk factors that must be taken into account when attempting to explain the formation of oxalate and phosphate stones, both of which contain calcium. Among these risk factors are age, sex, diet, liquid intake, climate, metabolism disorders and possibly the social group to which a person belongs.

Depending on the chemical composition, kidney stones can develop into several very small or individual large stones. Particularly large stone specimens fill the whole of the renal pelvis.

Severe kidney colics usually occur only when a small stone gets stuck in the ureter, preventing the passing of urine.

Large, firmly wedged stones usually cause no more than dull pressure in the small of the back. Frequently, they cause no pain at all if the urine flow is unobstructed.

But these stones eventually displace the urine-forming tissue of the kidney, thus preventing the flow of urine. When this happens, the kidney blows up like a balloon and is eventually destroyed.

Some 80 per cent of all kidney stones are passed with the urine. This applies particularly to stones no bigger than 5mm in diameter. Half of these stones stand a good chance of being eliminated naturally.

The passage of stones can be eased through medication. If a stone gets stuck in the ureter, doctors can try to remove it with the help of a loop.

Chemical dissolution through medication is only possible with uric acid stones.

Tough animal experiments have shown that oxalate and phosphate stones can also be dissolved, medicine has not yet come up with drugs without toxic side effects for humans. This precludes the clinical use of these drugs.

These only remedy for stones wedged in the renal pelvis is surgery.

Peter Alken, of Mainz, said at the meeting that modern surgical methods have widened the scope of treatment, in

one of methods, dry ice is used to reduce the kidney temperature to 15 degrees C, when the stone can be removed comfortably.

Another method is to use ultrasonic control devices for the surgery. This makes it easier for the surgeon to pinpoint the stone and prevents the possibility of severing one of the many small kidney arteries. But by far the greatest progress is marked by the shattering of kidney stones into many small particles through electric shock waves. The shock waves are triggered underwater and directed at the stone through a special reflector.

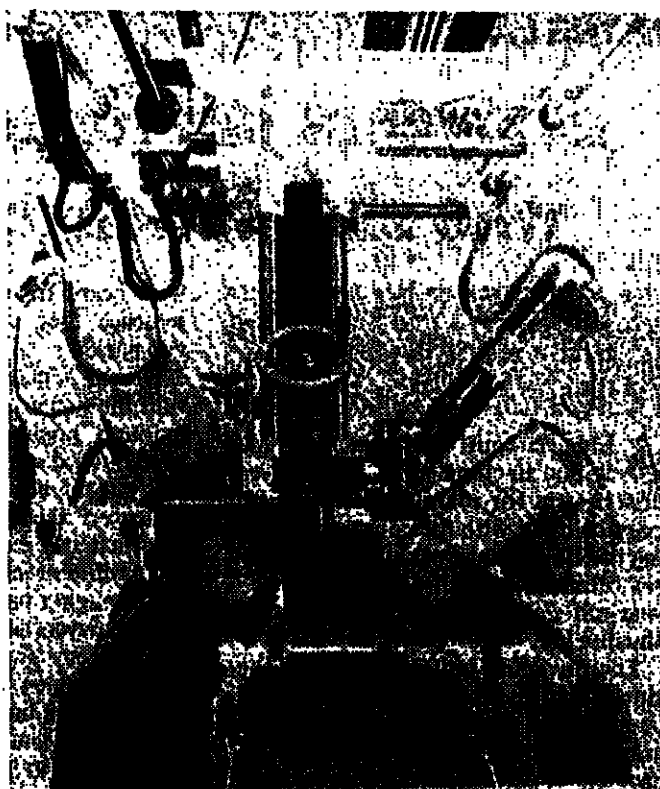
The stone disintegrates into small enough particles to be passed naturally. The kidney itself and the surrounding tissue remain unaffected.

Professor Chaussy said these positive results coupled with more experience with the shock wave device (made by the Dornier aviation company of Friedrichshafen) have prompted doctors to

apply this treatment to patients with infected stones as well.

Since the particles of the smashed stone are passed more easily than originally assumed, doctors are now using this method even with stones bigger than a cherry-stone.

Konrad Müller-Christiansen
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,
4 March, 1983)



The shattering machine. This is the piece of equipment used in Munich to shatter kidney stones with sonic shock waves. The success rate in three years has been high. The apparatus was developed by the aircraft makers, Dornier. (Photo: Dornier)

Drug company puts big hopes in little sea fungus

Gambierella alginate

A Swiss drug company is now turning to the sea as a source of new drugs. Company researchers, together with scientists of the Bremerhaven Institute for Marine Biology, are exploring the possibility of obtaining drugs for heart and nervous disorders from marine fungi.

The institute has the world's largest collection of marine fungi and is therefore the obvious place for such research.

A project for deep-freezing fungi cultures has been launched in an effort to avoid the difficult and labour-intensive problem of keeping the fungi alive.

Since the deal was signed, Bremerhaven material has been undergoing exhaustive tests as to its usefulness in the pharmaceuticals industry in laboratories in Switzerland and Italy.

What the researchers are looking for is not only new substances to be used as tranquilisers and for some coronary disorders but also the possible use of marine fungi as antibiotics.

Antibiotics made from land-based fungi are losing their effectiveness in many cases where bacteria have become resistant to them. It is hoped that mari-

ne fungi will yield a drug similar to penicillin but with a wider range of applications.

The Swiss research drive has been conceived as a long-term project that will extend over many years and is hoped to provide conclusive information on the usefulness of marine fungi.

The microscopic fungi — rarely larger than 1mm in diameter — are kept in a nutrient solution into which release certain substances resulting from their metabolism.

These substances are then used for pharmacological test series.

So far, the fungi cultures have yielded little in the way of medically active substances, but the researchers are confident that they will achieve a breakthrough at some point.

They have meanwhile discontinued their research into the primitive, bubble-like single cell fungi and are concentrating at their efforts on the delicate and net-like species of more highly developed fungi.

The Botanical Department of the Institute for Marine Biology has a particular interest in the success of the research project now in progress because it is to receive a share of the earnings should the project prove commercially viable.

Much of the money would then be used to ensure the future of the world's largest collection of marine fungi (Kul-

turensammlung mariner Pilze Bremerhaven, KMPB) which includes 300 primitive and 10,000 higher species.

The Swiss company has taken the precautionary measure of obtaining sole rights for the commercial exploitation of the cultures.

The raw material provided by the Institute has been processed to a high degree of purity, meaning that the organisms contain no alien matter such as bacteria, protozoa, algae and viruses.

Before concluding the deal with the Swiss company, the Bremerhaven fungi cultures were used solely for non-purpose-oriented basic research.

The Institute has been engaged in ecological and taxonomical research since 1966. In addition, it supplies scientific institutions throughout the world with cultures of marine fungi.

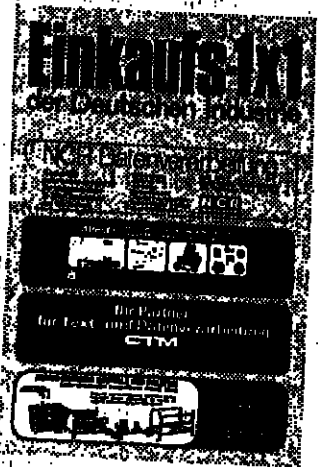
Despite the international reputation of KMPB, the interest in it was long limited to a very small circle of highly specialised scientists — possibly due to the fact that this type of research is relatively new, having begun around the turn of the century.

Some scientists deplore the fact that the practical application of the Bremerhaven cultures is being explored by a foreign rather than a German company. It appears that word of the importance of the Bremerhaven collection has not yet got around in Germany. In any event, Bonn has so far refused to come up with the funds needed to establish a fungi bank that would be kept in a frozen state at -160 degrees C, thus preserving it for posterity.

The need for such a bank is due to the fact that marine fungi can be kept

Continued on page 14

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Six years jail for mother who shot in vengeance

Köln, 20 March 1983

A Lübeck court has sentenced Marianne Bachmeier, 32, to a six-year prison term for manslaughter. She had been charged with the courtroom shooting of Klaus Grabowski, 35, a convicted sex offender who allegedly killed her 7-year-old daughter Anna after sexually abusing her.

The presiding judge said he was convinced that the accused had acted deliberately and that she was not mentally unbalanced on the day she shot Grabowski.

The defence has announced its intention to appeal.

The court, under Presiding Judge Peter Bassenge, accepted the arguments of both the public prosecutor and the two court-appointed experts, Günther Ritzel and Elisabeth Müller-Lückmann.

The sentence, however, fell short of the eight years demanded by the prosecution. The court also turned down the prosecution's motion that Marianne Bachmeier be taken into custody. She is to remain free pending the outcome of the appeal.

Judge Bassenge held that Marianne Bachmeier had been out of custody since last summer and that there was no reason to assume that she would attempt to leave the jurisdiction of the court.

Judge Bassenge: "The accused had been charged with murder and nevertheless made herself available for the ordeal of the long trial after her release from custody."

Some murmurs of dissatisfaction

were heard from the public when the sentence they considered too lenient was passed.

Dozens of people had been waiting in vain for hours in the cold and drizzly morning, hoping to get access to the overcrowded courtroom.

It was not until two hours after being sentenced that Marianne Bachmeier, who that day wore black pants and a plain white sweater, left the court building through a back door, accompanied by her lawyers and police.

Numerous press photographers and TV cameramen had gathered outside the court building, but were kept away from Mrs Bachmeier.

The court, in its summation, adopted the prosecution's argument that Marianne Bachmeier had shot Grabowski deliberately. But it saw no evidence that the killing was premeditated before 6 March 1981, the day it occurred.

That was the third day of the trial of Klaus Grabowski, who was accused of having strangled Anna Bachmeier.

It was on that day that Marianne Bachmeier decided to kill Grabowski. The decision was made before she saw him in the courtroom," Judge Bassenge said.

Substantiated by the statements of Marianne Bachmeier and witnesses, the court reconstructed the shooting as follows: Before that day's court proceedings in the Grabowski case began, Marianne Bachmeier overheard in a corridor that Grabowski intended to slander her dead daughter and herself in the courtroom. She was carrying a loaded pistol in her handbag, and it was at that

point — before laying eyes on Grabowski — that she cocked the weapon. Without a moment's hesitation, she later fired eight shots at Grabowski.

"The shots were fired immediately after she entered the courtroom — with great concentration, as evidenced by their being dead on target," Judge Bassenge said.

The court did not accept Marianne Bachmeier's subsequent explanation that it was not until she saw Grabowski's broad back that she decided to kill him in a sort of emotional frenzy.

The court held that this was contrary to the statement she herself — as a witness at the time — made to a judge immediately after she had shot Grabowski. She told the judge: "I wanted to shoot him in the face."

Seen objectively, the court held, Grabowski was unsuspecting and defenceless at the time of the shooting. But subjectively this was not so. "It has not been proven that the accused (Bachmeier) was aware of the victim's being unsuspecting and defenceless."

The court thus went along with the experts' opinion and the prosecution's line of argument.

Immediately before the shooting, Marianne Bachmeier had looked at a photograph of her daughter which so heightened her frenzied state of mind that she acted without being aware of the victim's defencelessness.

The court ruled that the accused was fully accountable for her action. But a number of mitigating circumstances were taken into account.

Judge Bassenge: "Grabowski had strangled Anna, the person who was closest to Marianne Bachmeier, whose life had been marked by a series of disappointments."

The court's actions made it clear that mistakes made by the judiciary in the Grabowski case were not to be swept under the carpet. In fact, many of these mistakes were listed among the mitigat-



Marianne Bachmeier... shot her sex offender eight times.

ing circumstances in the court's decision in the Bachmeier case.

Among them was the pressure on Grabowski, inadequate checks by the Schleswig-Holstein judges on the fact that no expert opinion had been obtained before Grabowski's hormone treatment for his sexual deviance.

"Anna would not have been had these mistakes not been made," the court stated unequivocally. But no reason to drop the charges against Grabowski.

Judge Bassenge told Marianne Bachmeier exactly how much of her sentence she was likely to have to serve — and a half years that she spends in prison are to be deducted from her sentence. At least one-third of the sentence can be remitted on parole.

Dieter (Köln, 20 March 1983)

MODERN LIVING

A new soft approach to first-time shoplifters



Young people... shoplifters.

ow and again, when the pocket-money runs out, many a young person of rock music has a dip into the shelves and wanders off with the number hidden beneath his coat.

Then often happens is something the shoplifter never really thought about: the store detective calls the police and, finally, a summons to appear in court.

The whole business can turn a first-time offender into a juvenile delinquent, though this typical first crime need not necessarily signify a departure from the straight and narrow.

In 109 out of 139 cases, the advice centre recommended exemption from criminal punishment. Half of these recommendations were accepted.

The idea behind the project was brought over to Germany from the United States by the criminologist Kirchhoff.

He then managed to find 14 volunteers willing to work on an honorary basis, whom he trained for the job during evening courses.

Their main task is to discuss the matter with the parents so as to discover any educational measures which may be of help.

Professor Ursula Adams, who lectures juvenile and family law at the Catholic Fachhochschule in Paderborn, has for some time been assessing the situation of the homeless.

This winter, over 100,000 men and women have had nowhere to live. In statistical terms, there was only one place to sleep for five homeless.

There has been a special agreement

primarily with Hans-Jürgen W. Ki and Foreign Minister Hans-Jürgen Genscher.

Tabatabai was also instrumental in negotiating the release of the Iranian hostages held in Tehran a couple of years ago.

But his assignments as a diplomat and envoy also had their shady side. The many arms deals he is said to have clinched, Tabatabai, who was born in Germany, is married to a man.

All this, however, is just gone to the Düsseldorf court. For Judge Strauss, Tabatabai is simply a man who has smuggled opium into the country and thus run afoul of the law.

The assurances he subsequently received from the Bonn Foreign Minister and from Tehran that Tabatabai was a mission as a special envoy to judge unimpressed.

The court showed itself as a gratifyingly independent of which seems to have been put under pressure by Tehran.

But there is no getting away from the fact that the court's determination to make Tabatabai stand trial could be a diplomatic turbulence, diplomatists.

It is up to the German diplomat to prevent this. The means they use are they in this case?

Stefan (Deutsches Allgemeine Zeitung, 20 March 1983)

As Kirchhoff points out, talking alone is not enough. The shoplifters must be encouraged to "atone" for their crime! — "Just as a football player who has committed a foul offers his fellow-player his hand in friendship."

The shoplifter should be taken along to the scene of the crime to talk to the shop assistants, who very often have to pay for the stolen goods themselves.

"The young shoplifter suddenly realizes that he is not dealing with an anonymous department store but with real people," says Kirchhoff.

This is something a shoplifter never gives much thought to. The project group advisory team also talks to the managers so as to clear up the impression that this is just an attempt to give youngsters a "free hand", at least first-time round.

The Mönchengladbach project was supported by DM261,000 provided by the Jugendmarke foundation. This money is intended to last at least three years.

In the meantime, plans have been considered to extend this system to youngsters caught driving without a licence or fare dodgers.

dpa (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 March 1983)

Homeless are getting younger

West Germany's homeless are becoming younger and younger each year. The average age has dropped by 15 years over the past few years to between 25 and 30. One in twenty "gentlemen of the road" is in fact a "lady," usually girls who are still minors.

Professor Ursula Adams, who lectures juvenile and family law at the Catholic Fachhochschule in Paderborn, has for some time been assessing the situation of the homeless.

This winter, over 100,000 men and women have had nowhere to live. In statistical terms, there was only one place to sleep for five homeless.

There has been a special agreement

of a survey about behaviour and living machines cannot be published. Due to a temporary court injunction on behalf of the gambling industry. The survey was compiled by a psychologist, Gerd Meyer, as a thesis for Göttingen University.

Pathological Game of Chance," which he has completed for the University of Göttingen.

Due to a temporary injunction obtained by the gambling machine industry from the district court in Cologne, only certain sections of the thesis are free to be published.

However, even they make it clear that playing the gambling game is more than just passing the time.

According to Meyer's calculations, the industry pocketed gross earnings of DM800m in 1980, well above the DM500m raked in by the casinos.

Meyer is convinced that at least 500,000 of the seven million or so West Germans who use the 160,000 gambling machines in West Germany must be categorized as "addicts".

He reached this conclusion after three years of research in Göttingen, using survey questionnaires to analyse a total of 400 "chronic gamblers".

Meyer confirmed that this group suf-

fered from the same problems as other addiction groups: loss of control after beginning to gamble and the inability to stop gambling or to avoid going into amusement halls.

Taking up the case example of a 45-year-old secondary-school teacher, who a few months back set up a gambler's self-help group in Lübeck, Meyer points out some of the economic, social and psychological consequences.

"I started playing the machines about 12 years ago," says the teacher. "It was only now and again to begin with and then more and more regularly. After a while, I became really hooked. Up to now, I've lost at least DM150,000 in various amusement halls and I've got heavy debts."

His marriage broke up — according to Meyer another result of the gambling addiction — he was no longer able to keep away from the machines after school was over.

The five other members of his self-help group — all from different social strata — had trouble with money and subsequently problems with the family and their closest friends.

This teacher now hopes that the group will provide him with the support he needs to help free himself from his ruinous vice.

dpa (Südwestdeutsche Zeitung, 4 March 1983)

Music makers face the naked truth

Frankfurter Rundschau

The plot is pretty basic and the only thing which causes trouble is the background music.

We refer here to the production of soft-core and hard-core blue movies.

The problem is that the organisation responsible for adding the sound-track to these films, the Society for the Rights of Musical Presentation and Mechanical Duplication (GEMA), would like to receive flat-rate payments.

However, many blue-film producers refuse to pay for the musical accompaniment of their cinema and home movies.

In a legal dispute before the 4th Provincial High Court and Civil Court of Appeal in Hamm, GEMA's hopes of obtaining such fees would seem to be gradually disappearing.

The next stage is the Federal Supreme Court, which will have to lend its legal ear to the sound of blue music.

The court in Hamm came to the conclusion that the background music to the blue films on the whole consists of trivial tonal sequences, plonking and bits of music, all of which cannot be classified as dancing or light music.

This means that GEMA's claim that these are protected musical works cannot be legally upheld.

According to the Hamm court the adding of a sound-track to a blue movie cannot be compared with public presentation of dancing or light music.

The official verdict read as follows: "There is indeed a substantial difference between the blue-movie audience and those persons who visit other musical events. The former are primarily interested in the pictorial material, the noises in the background being of purely secondary importance".

GEMA would have to prove copyright in each individual case, an expensive and most complicated task.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 February 1983)

Drink causes problems at work

About five per cent of all employees in Germany suffer from alcohol-related illnesses.

The head office of the Anti-Addiction Association in Hamburg, says that special advisory groups should be set up in large and medium-sized firms, because of increasing problems involving alcohol and work.

There has not yet been sufficient research on whether this is due to increased mechanisation and monotonous work conditions.

According to the association, the per capita alcohol consumption figure is the fourth highest in the world.

In 1981, statistics reveal that every West German citizen drank about 12.4 litres of pure alcohol.

Men are three times as likely to have problems as women.

dpa (General-Anzeiger Bonn, 3 March 1983)

Sea fungus

Continued from page 13

for limited periods only. Kept at room temperature they need a great deal of costly and labour-intensive care which has forced the institute to destroy some of its cultures.

But the institute was recently commissioned to carry out research into the possibility of deep-freeze storage of marine fungi.

The project, which is subsidised by Bonn, is being carried out in cooperation with the Society for Biotechnological Research and the German Collection of Micro-organisms (DSMZ) of Brunswick.

The researchers are now testing the most economical conservation methods by freezing fungi cultures at temperatures of -180°C. To this end, the Bremerhaven Institute has been equipped with a deep-freeze installation operating on liquid nitrogen.

It is only natural that the metabolism of the fungi stops at this temperature, enabling the researchers to fall back on unchanged comparative material that can be kept in small ampoules. Initial results are encouraging.

What is still lacking is a secured future for the Bremerhaven collection. One solution would be to transfer the whole culture collection to DSMZ in a frozen state.

Joachim Freyenhagen (Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung, 3 March 1983)

A former Iranian diplomat who is related by marriage to Ayatollah Khomeini has been sentenced to three years jail by a Düsseldorf court on an opium smuggling charge. Sadegh Tabatabai, 39, was however not present to hear the decision. He had flown back to Iran.

Once a diplomat always a diplomat? The dispute before a Düsseldorf court over whether the Iranian citizen Sadegh Tabatabai, 39 (who is charged with smuggling several pounds of opium into Germany) enjoys diplomatic immunity and is therefore safe from prosecution is increasingly resembling a farce. But drug smuggling is too serious a matter to be seen in a farcical light.

The affair goes back to 8 January when Tabatabai arrived at Düsseldorf airport carrying 11.7 kilos of opium in his luggage. He had no plausible explanation for the opium except to say that it was an old Persian home remedy for colds.

The excuse was so thin as to suggest that he either couldn't think of a better one or that he thought very little of the intelligence of German customs officers.

Tabatabai was taken into custody and charged. But the Bonn Foreign Office was uneasy about the affair and went to great lengths to get its old acquaintance off the hook.

Tabatabai not only has excellent contacts with German politicians and diplomats but also has a couple of good deeds to his credit. In 1979 he was

Diplomat on drug charge flees back to Iran



Sadegh Tabatabai... excellent contacts.

When Ayatollah Khomeini came to power, Tabatabai not only became government spokesman and deputy prime minister of Iran but also wielded great influence with the Ayatollah.

He was a frequent visitor to Bonn where he played a major role in German-Iranian relations, negotiating

primarily with Hans-Jürgen W. Ki and Foreign Minister Hans-Jürgen Genscher.

Tabatabai was also instrumental in negotiating the release of the Iranian hostages held in Tehran a couple of years ago.

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